

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR

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THE COMING CAMPAIGN

Mighty Principles Involved in the Great Battle.

SILVER FORCES DIVIDED.

HOW MAY THE ELEMENTS BE WELDED TOGETHER?

Senator Jones' Position—Republicans Wedded to the Gold Standard—Bimetallists Can Elect a President if All Factions Will Meet on Common Ground—Mr. Grant Hamilton's Views.

Inasmuch as the year 1896 ushers in another presidential campaign—and this campaign perhaps the most notable of which history has ever recorded, dealing, as it will, with the fundamental principles of self-government, that of the financial question—it is not inopportune for all classes of voters of the inter-mountain region, as well as young men who are just arriving at their majority, and also those who have enjoyed the right of suffrage but a limited period, to begin to consider, in the light of previous political history, what action may be expedient to achieve the results desired, not only for the benefit of our great west (west from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and south to the Gulf, but to the masses of the people of this republic.

Very frequently the uppermost thought of a young voter is a desire to be identified with that party which achieves signal victories in the locality in which he may happen to reside, and it may be asserted truthfully that this is too often the case for the benefit of society. This is not conducive to the perpetuation of a government by the people, but tends to the degradation of those principles enunciated by many patriotic and illustrious characters who have been instrumental in the upbuilding of this great nation.

In the impending struggle for control of the national government there will, in all probability, be four factions, all striving for the same ultimate object—that of the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of approximately 16 to 1.

The purpose of this article is not an appeal for the reinstatement of the white metal to the place it occupied prior to 1873—for I take it that nearly all of the qualified electors of this section of the country are of one opinion as regards this great question, except, perhaps, a coterie of politicians who desire nothing but the emoluments of office, regardless through what source they may come, and caring less for the upbuilding and continuation of national or local prosperity—but to consider the best method of attaining that which is to the benefit of the masses.

At this time indications point strongly to the formation of a new party (in the event of both old parties refusing to take up this issue) with a single plank in its platform, that of unlimited free coinage of both gold and silver at

the ratio of 16 to 1, being promoted by the National Bimetallist union, and being backed by such men as Mott of North Carolina (Republican), Stewart of Nevada (Populist), Warner of Ohio (Democrat), Sibley of Pennsylvania (Democrat), and a number of other gentlemen of national prominence in connection with this issue.

Then comes the Populist party, and it may be said that this is the only perfected national organization which has in its platform or declaration of principles an unequivocal demand for the restoration of silver.

Next in the free silver procession deserving of honorable mention are the silver Democrats, and they deserve a liberal consideration for the fortitude they have shown in their battle against the administration Democrats, and also for individual fidelity.

Our attention is now directed to the Prohibition party, and while their number is not large, it, however, contains many men of prominence who are staunch silver men, and leaders of their party, one of whom may be mentioned—John P. St. John, ex-governor of Kansas.

And lastly, the silver advocates within the ranks of the Republican party.

These advocates, too, deserve consideration, and it is a conceded fact that the opposition to Republicanism as now enunciated. However, the writer is of the opinion that the silver Republicans, considered separately, are of small strength as regards their ability to impregnate the national Republican organization with anything looking to the practical solution of this issue.

SILVER FORCES DIVIDED.

Therefore it will be seen that the advocates of one particular "idea" are divided, at the present time, into four or five separate and distinct bodies, and each appears clumsy.

The silver Democrats are by no means scarce; in fact, it is confidently stated that a majority of the Democratic party—that is, the laymen—are staunch silver men, while, on the other hand, it is a conceded fact that eastern Democrats are, as well as eastern Republicans, single standard men, and, unfortunately, the councils of both national organizations (Democratic and Republican) are controlled by the opponents of free coinage. Consequently, the outlook for the Democratic national convention is not a very promising one for full party adhesion upon the silver question. According to some eminent Democratic authorities, especially the leaders of the silver element of the Illinois Democracy, it is stated that should the national convention refuse to adopt a free coinage plank, the silver forces will "bolt" the convention and at once proceed to organize a Democratic free silver convention for the purpose of putting a national Democratic ticket in the field pledged to silver. However, the full strength of this latter element is not known, and of course at this time can only be conjectured.

The next important factor to be considered is the Populist party. The growth of this party, to say the least, has been most phenomenal since its inception in 1892, and while perhaps this party has some impracticable reform ideas, it is considered by men of no mean political prestige (and by men who are not in harmony with the economic views of the Populists) that while there are some incongruities in its economic propositions, the party is largely composed of men who cast their ballots for principle rather than from partisan biasness, thereby, to my mind, making an assemblage of men of vast

power, both collectively and individually. And wherever this party has achieved victory, in many instances the opposition has endeavored to squelch the organization by falsely representing its principles and declarations, and also a resort to illogical and far-fetched comment, intended to ridicule rather than an endeavor to rebut by intelligent argument. In passing this factor, it may be well to mention that the Populists were accredited in 1894 with having about 2,500,000 votes, in the face of which it must be admitted that it is a very formidable balance of power, and one which, if allied with any other prominent factor herein mentioned, might be amalgamated therewith, would certainly make present conditions most interesting.

The Republican party, or that part of it which represents the silver cause, is a problem, the solution of which is not an easy task. (Looking through Republican "glasses" we see victory in 1895.) This last sentence within parentheses, will undoubtedly have the effect of cutting down materially the free silver sentiment within the ranks of Republicanism, for even a normal consideration demonstrates that a free silver sentiment cannot lay much claim to advocacy within the Republican ranks, with any possible show of victory upon any other issue. Consequently, we are obliged to place the numericals of this factor at or nearly the foot of the column.

And further, as it is a patent fact that the vast majority of the Republican party are wedded to the gold standard, it is improbable that the silver forces will attain the rank of power and prominence in their national convention—and it would not be surprising to a vast number of the bimetallist advocates should this question be entirely smothered. Therefore it is plain that in this event this latter party really in order to voice their principles by their ballots.

THE BIMETALLIC UNION.

With regard to the National Bimetallist union it may be stated that this organization is composed of men of all shades of political opinion, and assumes to deal with one economic principle—that of the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 by the United States alone. This organization has representative in every state in the Union, the member of the executive committee from Utah being the Hon. R. C. Chambers, now a member of the Utah legislature in the capacity of senator. And now the important question arises:

"How is it possible for each of these factors to express their fidelity to the cause of silver, without sacrificing, at the same time, their other economic ideas they may adhere to?"

It is not a problem easy of solution of how to bring together this heterogeneous mass and form a homogenous body of voters. But as my purpose is to endeavor to demonstrate, should certain events transpire—and it must be understood also from a strictly non-partisan standpoint—the manner in which this may be accomplished, it will be necessary before proceeding further to face matters in their true light. And at this point also I will say that I am, and have been, at all times, independent in my political views, and have no ties, party or otherwise, which I am bound to regard from the standpoint of conviction, only in so far as such party or political views favor the remonetization of silver.

The assumption, however, as gathered from the eastern press, and also

all communications through other channels, is that the two old parties, as now constituted, will refuse to incorporate in their platforms anything favoring silver, be it ever so remote, as the gold standard men realize that they must employ heroic measures to forever silence the issue, and their emissaries are advising divers plans (but the plans, be it understood, are subtle in the abstract, and tend to separate rather than solidify) such, for instance, as advising all silver men of all parties to be loyal to their parties and wage the battle upon that line. This advice, if applied, cannot mean anything more than a repetition of the single standard "dogma" of 1892, and makes doubly sure the defeat of the movement of remonetization.

SENATOR JONES' POSITION.

It may be of interest, and also in support of the position assumed by this article, to quote from the communication of Senator John P. Jones of Nevada to Enoch Strother, chairman of the Republican state central committee of the above state, dated August 23, 1894, regarding all silver men of all parties taking up the question of free coinage. He says:

"I am firmly convinced that there is no prospect of relief from either of the old parties, as such, and at least of all, I regret to say, from the Republican party."

The above statement may appear broad and far-reaching, but until such time as either or both of the old parties prove this assertion to be unfounded, we certainly are compelled to give it a large amount of credence, not only from the fact that it now appears correct, but also from the fact that it is in harmony with the very recent action of our national legislature. The condition of affairs is also interesting from the fact that the United States States senate (representing the states) passed a free coinage substitute, and the United States house of representatives (representing the people of the same states) overwhelmingly defeated the same substitute.

One reason, perhaps, for the assumption that the two old parties, as now constituted, will not give relief in our monetary affairs, is the fact that the machinery of both parties is located on the Atlantic seaboard, where is to be found also the machinery of all trusts, corporations, pools, associations and the magnets or guiding spirits of the vast mobilized wealth which they represent, and it is a fact which cannot be disputed that all of these agencies will not give relief in our monetary affairs, and they (the representatives of this wealth) of course, being opposed to the expansion of our monetary system, there cannot be, under the present regime, the shadow of a possibility for the passage of a free silver bill, as has been noted. And, peradventure, should congress, by an accident, premeditated or otherwise, pass such a bill at any time prior to March 4, 1897, the well known ideas of our present chief executive would prevent the bill becoming a law—and with the advent of a Republican president after the above date, the status of affairs will undoubtedly remain unchanged.

A VEXED QUESTION.

It now appears, after taking into consideration the foregoing statements, that the silver forces at this time are in a vexed condition, and it is also impossible to conceive of any code of ethics by which this vexed question can be settled by either of the old party organizations, and this being the case it is pertinent that some plan be devised whereby all factions of free

silver advocates can so amalgamate as to show their full voting strength, and at the same time having nothing in their declaration of principles or platform which would be diametrically opposed to any distinct class of voters, except, of course, the free coinage of silver. A few weeks ago the executive committee of the National Bimetallist union met in Washington, D. C., and formulated and adopted a line of action intended to be pursued should either or both of the two great parties ignore the financial issue. This committee is composed of acknowledged bimetallists from each state and territory in the Union, and, as has been said before, the members thereof represent all shades of political opinion, but are a unit upon monetary reform. This organization has a large membership, and it seems quite evident that with a wise handling of the forces of this union, and if a desire is manifested by the various other silver forces to amalgamate under the common banner of bimetallism, the combination thus made would, in my opinion, be of such formidableness as to strike a telling blow from each state and territory. It must be understood that the writer does not assume that the National Bimetallist union prover will eventually become a national political party, but that through the agency of this union a third party movement will be inaugurated which will have for its object, of course, monetary reform, and have in its platform nothing but what may be mutually conceded or accepted by the various factions which are to make up this aggregation. It is a fact believed by many bimetallists that in a third party movement resides the only hope for the satisfactory settlement of this great issue. They say that adherence to party lines, as they are now drawn, will never lead the silver forces to a realization of their hopes, and that all great reforms which have been consummated in the past, the people must be heard from in another direction. They must rise up en masse under the "double standard" banner, and, unnumbered and unnumbered by any theory which will tend to detract from the main issue, strike the blow, which, once struck, will emancipate millions who are now suffering from the evil consequences of the monometallist theory. We find some men, however, who are bimetallists, or claim to be such, and who also deprecate the idea of a third party movement, and advise that the question be fought strictly on party lines, no matter what the national conventions may do at their coming deliberations—even should they declare against silver. But it would appear, if this latter class are loyal to silver, their argument does not present a very logical hue, as, for instance, if the party to which this last named class belong should declare for the single standard, or present the usual stereotyped plank which means monometallism, and they the so-called bimetallists, claiming to be for free silver, advise and admonish the people to still stand loyal for party success, and at the same time the position assumed by the party and the belief expressed by this class of voters being directly in opposition of each other. It may be asked, and that intelligently, is not the third party movement rather to be chosen than to stultify one's self by voting for the success of party rather than endeavoring by our influence and suffrages to show our loyalty to a cause which has humanitarianism for its object? Those who advocate party suc-

cess, as such, when that party is opposed to the prosperity of the entire taken as a whole, are indeed poor advisers, and should not be considered of any value. We must, as silver men, use the same mode and implements of warfare as the opposition. That being the case, under present conditions, whatever may be advised by the monometallists with regard to party preservation, must be antagonistic to the interests of the bimetallists. We have, as is well known, been given a "sop" for many years by the two old parties, and in the last four years we have beheld the spectacle of both the Democrats and Republicans at different times being in full control of both houses of the national legislature. But the only thing done as regards silver legislation has been a further assassination of the white metal, and also at a time when the government was compelled to issue interest-bearing bonds far in excess of the actual needs of its departments—for the only reason that its gold treasures are not in accordance with actual knowledge and correct economics. This and much more might be cited for the purpose of proving the absolute fallacy of any expectation of relief from old party councils. But we will pass to the next phase of this question.

DEMOCRATS WILL CONCEDE.

It has been stated upon good authority that the silver Democrats are willing to concede much of their economic views for the sake of silver. Many prominent Democrats have expressed the same willingness. There are Republicans who can be placed in the same category. And the national committee of the Populist party has expressed its willingness to concede something. Now is there not enough substance in the above factors to form a nucleus around which may gather the entire horde of bimetallists?

IT CAN BE DONE.

This proposition can be accomplished, for it is believed that the free silver forces are patriotic men, willing to mutually concede one to another for the benefit of their cause, and it is further confidently believed that a full, free and untrammelled expression of the masses would solve this question overwhelmingly in favor of bimetallism. As stated by Senator Pugh of Alabama, the silver advocates at this time are fighting among themselves, and the statement is very true and very timely, and is a further evidence that a new battleground should be selected in order that an alignment may be made with the enemy in their proper place, adopting also the usual mode of procedure with regard to traitors. The latter element has cost bimetallism more than any other one thing. And for example we need only refer to the course of the newly elected Utah senators. These senators, upon the floor of the Utah legislative chamber, pledged in burning words their fidelity to the cause of silver, saying, in substance, that every proposition should be subordinated to it. But even before the legislature adjourns which elected them these same senators are condemned by their own former viva voce utterances, and endeavor again to mislead and beguile their honest constituents by a resort to the press with explanations replete with incongruities when their speeches of acceptance are considered. Instances of this character have been frequent in the past, and cases have been known of Republicans making the race for congressional honors in these western silver states in the late elections, who have refused to sign the bimetallist pledge.

A POSSIBILITY.

For instance, in order to more thoroughly explain this proposition, we will illustrate, as it were. If the third party movement becomes a reality, and we select a candidate for president from Pennsylvania, or to be more explicit, nominate Hon. Joseph C. Sibley, Pennsylvania, who has been prominently mentioned in this connection. Pennsylvania is not considered a silver state, but Mr. Sibley is known as an unrelenting advocate of our cause. He has a strong personality, a man whose private and public character has always been and is at the present time of an exceedingly high standard, and is also largely interested in the industries of that section. Now, is it not reasonable that we might expect from a candidate of this character more, in the matter of bringing votes to our cause, than from a western man? Further, in this same line of argument, Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania is also a staunch silver advocate, and it cannot but be apparent that

lie pledge. (This pledge binds the signers, congressmen, to vote only for an unequivocal silver man for president, irrespective of party, providing, of course, the election of the latter is thrown into the house of representatives.) This state of affairs should be remedied, for it is hardly in line with consistency when the people elect representatives upon a silver platform, and almost before the ink becomes dry upon their certificates of election they subordinate their pledges for the perpetuation of party power.

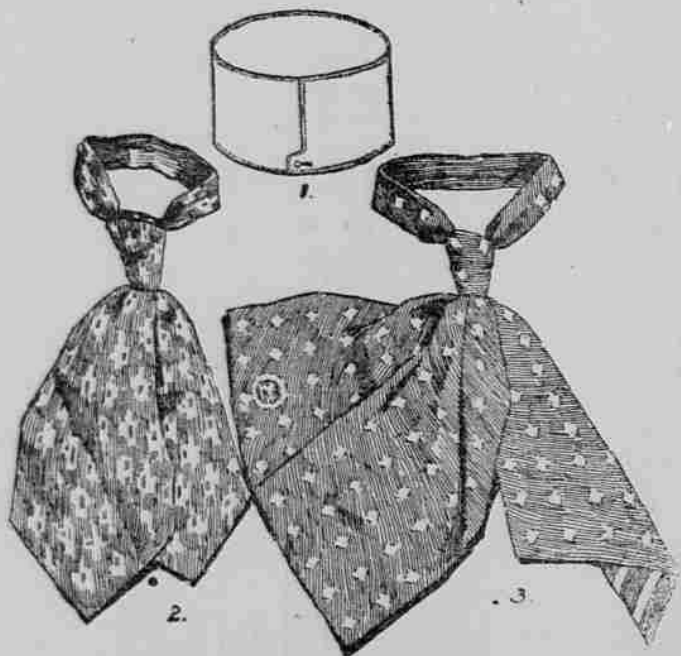
BIMETALLISTS CAN WIN.

The bimetallists can elect a president, providing each and every factor can meet upon common ground, solidly, their forces and go before the people with silver the leading issue, for it has been confidently asserted, and correctly, too, that the great majority of the masses of the people are in favor of gold and silver as our money standard. All who are interested in this issue should be fully prepared to act immediately after the deliberations of the two great conventions shall have become known, and if silver receives no recognition other than it has received in the past, we should force a combination of all the above mentioned factors by petitioning each to concede something for the other. Of course, we must use strategy in our movements, and go into the campaign, not alone with the idea that we are championing a righteous cause, but also with a determination that we will use every honorable means at our command to win the fight. Also we must find a suitable candidate—and more important still, the selection of country from which the candidate is to be selected must be considered, in order to give us additional vantage ground. A great many people of the west might desire, and perhaps do, that a western man be chosen to lead the silver forces. From a strategic point of view the writer is not in favor of a western man as a candidate, because we take for granted that the west is for silver, and also that they will support any man that may be chosen, providing he is honorable and a representative candidate. This being the case, would it not be wise at to choose our leader from some of the eastern states, selecting a man of strong personality, a man who is well known for his staunchness and also a true representative of our cause, for in this event we certainly would have another source of vote revenue, as the strong personality of an eastern man would most certainly attract many people's votes who are wavering at this time.

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